



THE MAN WHO LOOKED ON THE FACE OF DEATH
John L. Lewis as he emerged from Orient Mine No. 2

Will the mine disaster be whitewashed?

Capitalism is both inspired and limited by the Ten Commandments. For the philosophy of Capitalism not only includes the right to the lawful use of private property, unmolested by theft or violence, but it imposes also an obligation to practice that spirit of generosity and charity which must prevail among neighbors in a community.

David Lawrence, U.S. News, Jan. 11

IN West Frankfort, Ill., where during Christmas Week 119 miners were killed by poison gas, Roy Groves, a 66-year old veteran of the mines, said:

"The great trouble is the pressure to make money, the pressure for production."

Groves, a mine inspector now, said he told company officials last April there was going to be "a bad explosion" unless they remedied mine conditions. Said United Mine Workers pres. John L. Lewis after a tour of the disaster scene:

"There is great excitement at the time these disasters occur but little is done to protect the living. For the last 50 years it has been the usual thing to investigate after the men are dead, but long before the next tragedy the men are forgotten and the government does nothing."

10 LIVES A WEEK: The statistics which in ones and twos record the weekly death toll among miners are not newsworthy.

Not counting the 119, there were at least 575 coal miners killed at their jobs in 1951. In 10 months of 1950, 522 died, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines. In the first eight months of last year 25,085 miners were badly injured. The charts show the dead and injured figure rising with each boost in coal production.

While investigators probed, as investigators have probed with each new mass fatality, explanations came from many quarters. George Harrington, pres. of the Chicago, Wilmington and

Franklin Coal Co., mine owners, explaining that safety vents and tunnels were unable to carry off the deadly gas fast enough, said: "This happens sometimes in cold weather."

LIFE IS CHEAP: Illinois Gov. Adlai Stevenson in a statement last spring hinted at the cause in speaking of the state's Mine Investigation Commission:

"The provision that the commission must



Burck in Chicago Sun-Times
NEW ORIENT MINE NO. 2

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

5 cents

the progressive newsweekly

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NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 16, 1952

Rosenberg appeal heard; court weighs their fate

"Thinking again?" the Duchess asked, with another dig of her sharp little chin. "I've a right to think," said Alice sharply, for she was beginning to feel a little worried.

"Just about as much right," said the Duchess, "as pigs have to fly."

—Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

By William A. Reuben

GUARDIAN special correspondent

ON THURSDAY and Friday mornings of last week, judges Thomas W. Swan, Harrie B. Chase and Jerome N. Frank of the U. S. 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals listened to defense and government arguments in the case of "U.S. vs. Rosenberg."

The walnut-paneled courtroom on the 17th floor of the U. S. Court House at Foley Square, with its green-leather easy chairs and press and counsel tables and 35-foot ceiling, provided an air of lofty decorum and dignity. But some of the things that went on during the two-day arguments might well have been lifted right out of the Lewis Carroll fantasy.

The court was almost deserted when attorney Emanuel Bloch began presenting his argument on behalf of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, in what he called "the most dramatic and celebrated case in the annals of American jurisprudence."

Twenty-five persons were on hand, with a fairly even division of lawyers, reporters, spectators and FBI men. Howard Rushmore, covering the arguments for the Hearst press, went to sleep peacefully, stretched out in one of the soft easy chairs, soon after Bloch began.

"Oh, don't bother me!" said the Duchess. "I never could abide figures!"

BLOCH CHARGES "DEAL": At the government counsel table were three young men, alternately whispering, laughing, yawning, but never once bothering to take notes. They were James B. Kilsheimer, 3d, Roy M. Cohn and Stanley D. Robinson, representing the U. S. Government. Their average age was 26 years.

Attorney Bloch related the curious chain of events that culminated



EMANUEL BLOCH
An eloquent petition for life

be unanimous in its recommendations, combined with undue weight given to cost as the chief consideration in proposals for safety, virtually nullifies the commission as an instrument for promotion of adequate mine-safety laws."

Gov. Stevenson has been criticized for failure to push mine safety in the Legislature. But United Mine Workers laid heaviest guilt on Congressmen, who each session pigeonhole bills that would give the federal government power to enforce safety recommendations without "undue weight given to cost."

The record of the 82nd Congress on mine safety was zero.

OWNERS DO NOTHING: In Chicago last week West Frankfort was not yet forgotten. GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordover reported that the Chicago Council for Labor Unity called on Gov. Stevenson to call a special session of the legislature to enact safety codes with teeth.

In the fatal mine itself, state UMW pres. Hugh White ordered the clean-up crew to leave the mine, charging that the company was again risking miners' lives by operating an electrical motor "within 15 feet of a large body of gas." One report was that the Christmas explosion had been set off by an electric spark.

The company had plainly learned no safety lesson. Driscoll Scanlan, the one mine inspector who exposed the company and revealed the pressure put on him at the time of the Centralia explosion which killed 111 miners in March, 1947, said in a recent press interview:

"There were no lessons at Centralia—expect probably political lessons."

in two self-confessed spies, David and Ruth Greenglass, signing statements for the government that implicated the Rosenbergs. He stressed that Greenglass got off with a sentence that will make him eligible for parole in five years; and that Ruth Greenglass had never been indicted or punished in any way for her spying activities. Referring to the conference with Justice Dept. and FBI representatives arranged by the Greenglasses' lawyer, O. John Rogge, outcome of which was the arrest of Julius Rosenberg, Bloch said:

"Neither Ruth nor Dave Greenglass could tell the court or jury what was said at that conference — although their memory was sharp and precise about events that had occurred six years earlier. I charge that a deal was made between the District Attorney, Rogge and the Greenglasses."

The government did not attempt to reply to the accusation of a deal.

(Continued on Page 3)

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JANUARY 16, 1952



The crucial issue

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The 1948 Progressive Party platform was ideal as a cornerstone of our new party but this time we should have closer to the actual issues. Anti-militarism is the crucial issue of our time. Next is a revival of the Constitution. The enemy are making a planned assault on the Bill of Rights.

As to candidates, we should have an outstanding nominee with an established record and national popularity such as Justice Douglas. We may be compelled to endorse an independent to this end. We should not antagonize national prejudices even if they are stupid.

J. N. McCullough

Lewis for President

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Progressive Party has as yet not come out with the names of those who would or could be potential candidates for the Presidency or Vice Presidency, although the party has any number of well-known personalities. To name but a few: that brave and beloved Vito Marcantonio, the tremendous leader and scholar Dr. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Elmer Benson and others. But the American people are not as yet ready for such leadership.

To my way of thinking coalition candidates are needed to unite the American people around the vital issues. Such candidates have an excellent chance not only for the Presidency and Vice Presidency but for Congress and the state legislatures. In a great number of cases, of course we will have our own party candidate on the ticket.

The man I have in mind who would be a strong candidate for President (although he has done his

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end affairs particularly) to let us know a week in advance?
Jean Turney

A far-off friend

SIDNEY, AUSTRALIA
I'm enjoying the NATIONAL GUARDIAN very much. Best wishes to you all for a really good new year.
Glen Gordon Goodwill

Official inferno

MONTREAL, QUE.
As a progressive Canadian, I welcome your newspaper as a cool breeze from the official inferno of Truman America. As a progressive, I know that you speak for the decent United States, for the States that will develop and endure in the future. Your Achesons, MacArthurs and Smiths no more represent the aspirations of the American people than our St. Laurents and Duplessis' speak for ours.

As you no doubt are aware, we have our own periodicals to which we owe first allegiance, but whenever the opportunity offers, I certainly plug the GUARDIAN.
Malcolm Samuels

share of red-baiting) has spoken out against war, Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts, wage freeze, etc. He is none other than John L. Lewis.
Israel Pozna

Pray AND work

E. LANSING, MICH.
A student budget is not too flexible, but here is \$5 for our '52 subscription. Ordinarily we would probably put the difference in the collection at church, but it begins to look like peace must be worked at, as well as prayed for.
Pat and Mary Hazard

Susie was a Red!

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
"Since giant pandas, a species of bear cat, come only from Communist-dominated western China, it is unlikely that any more will be imported."—News dispatch.

Susie, the giant panda, is dead, and serve her right, the big fat red! We never knew until she died she came from China's Communist side.

Thousands of children who used to view Giant Sue in the Bronx's zoo will never see her kind again!
Signed—Truman, Dewey, Acheson.
Walter Lowenfels

Japanese treaty pamphlet

PALO ALTO, CALIF.
We would like to remind your readers that the Japanese Peace Treaty will come before the Senate for ratification, probably during this term. There is talk of a good deal of sentiment against ratification, so let's strengthen that sentiment if we can.

The Palo Alto Peace Club still has several hundred copies (out of 14,000 printed) of its Report on the Japanese Peace Treaty. They can be put to good use at this time, so we will be glad to receive your orders: 5c apiece, \$3 a hundred.
Valeda J. Bryant
815 Middlefield Road

How about it, groups?

NEW YORK, N. Y.
In reading the Calendar I often find that I've missed events because the paper has arrived the day after. Is there any way of encouraging groups (giving week-



Los Angeles Times

TRUMAN CLEANS HOUSE

"Let's see now—where will I start?"

Guilt feelings removed

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
Last night I sent you a check for \$12.50, which included a donation of about \$9. Today I felt ashamed of myself so am enclosing an additional \$16.
Irving Perlman

2 worthwhile books

ROYAL OAK, MICH.
I'm pleased to note the manner in which you are exposing the pitiful yielding of Farmers Union officials to pressure from loan agencies upon whom the big co-ops depend for funds in rush periods. Your support of Stover is very commendable.

I enjoy your book reviews very much. I sent to Toronto for We Saw Socialism and sent \$10 for additional copies to give to friends here. Dyson Carter enclosed two other books I think are worthy of your review: *The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society* by F. V. Konstantinov and *The Russian Orthodox Church in the Fight for Peace*. Where can these be obtained in the U.S.A.?
D. I. Todd

For all the creatures

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
I wish to make a comment on a picture in the GUARDIAN of a Korea soldier fishing:

Inasmuch as I have been a vegetarian for over 40 years, naturally I do not believe in such low-down sports as "fishin'", "huntin'", "trappin'", "vivisection" and atom bomb experiments on animals. It brings out the beastly qualities in man and makes him warlike. That is one reason why we have such savage goings on in the world today. God made the world for all the living creatures upon it and not just for man alone. God is in all living things and the very same power that causes them to live, causes us to live.

You do, however, have a good paper which is trying to promote peace, which is very good.
C. Rockwell

Well known in Europe

BRONX, N. Y.
Sorry to delay my renewal, but I've just returned from four months in Europe, including the Soviet Union. The GUARDIAN's efforts in behalf of peace are well known throughout Europe. My experience reaffirmed my belief that war is not inevitable and that our two systems (capitalism and socialism) can live in the same world.
Doris Koppelman

U.S. PROGRESSIVES AND EISENHOWER

Ike stands for everything the people don't want

By C. B. Baldwin
Secy., Progressive Party

THE EISENHOWER CANDIDACY last week drowned out the Churchill visit and the President's State of the Union Message. But the dominant note they all struck was the call for "national unity." "Unity" behind Eisenhower ranged from the Republican N. Y. *Herald Tribune* through the N. Y. *Times* to the Dallas (Tex.) *Morning News* (independent Dem.) and papers in the heart of the "Solid South."

It was taken up by "liberals" like Javits, who proclaim their devotion to civil rights, and by Dixiecrats who gag on the very words. It was the keynote of Walter Lippmann, who thinks the bipartisan foreign policy has gone too far, and of Henry Luce, who thinks it hasn't gone far enough.

This is quite a sample of "national unity"—but there is a real unity behind the Eisenhower candidacy: the unity, for perhaps the first campaign in 16 years, of Morgan and Rockefeller. For generations these two financial groups have been jockeying for political preferment, as they have for financial hegemony. In Eisenhower, they seem to have found the horse big enough for both to get on.

HANDS ACROSS THE \$: Unquestionably Eisenhower, as Doris Fleenon points out in the N. Y. *Post*, is the candidate of the House of Morgan. And it doesn't need Dewey's and Luce's endorsement to reveal the hand of Rockefeller. These groups, together with the Lodges, the Duffs, the Stassens, will whoop it up for Eisenhower as the people's choice, the man the people really want.

But if you look at what we already know about Eisenhower, it is clear that he stands for everything the people don't want.

On foreign policy, he is just a "tougher" Truman. He is indistinguishable from any other Republican or Democratic candidate who has so far reared his head. He is for continuing the cold war and the big arms program, weakening Europe's economy with the load of more armaments, arming every reactionary in the world, and most of all Germany with its returning Nazis.

STRONG MAN NEEDED: But it is on the domestic issues that Eisenhower's peculiar genius is most needed. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, he is even to the right of Senator Taft. Eisenhower is against a social security extension; wants to retain segregation in the armed forces; is against the welfare state; has announced the end of the movement for social reform. He is indeed the candidate of Morgan, Rockefeller and the NAM against the vast majorities who voted for FDR.

There may be a Taft faction right up to convention time, backed by the *Chicago Tribune*, the war-on-Asia firsters and allied elements, but it stands no chance of success and will probably end with the Taft forces joining the "unity" camp.

This is the meaning of Eisenhower. He is being called on, not in response to a call for national unity but to impose national conformity, not to answer the people's demands but to deny them. The basic and inescapable fact is that the bipartisan foreign policy is running into heavy seas—increasing unemployment, rising prices, taxes become intolerable, wage freezes; and beyond the arms program looms a disastrous depression and even more disastrous war. It requires a strong man to put down the rising protest against the foreign policy and its domestic consequences. That's Eisenhower's mission. His candidacy and the President's speech show what kind of unity there will be in the Presidential campaign. Both the Republican and the Democratic candidate agree on foreign policy and agree to make everyone swallow its consequences. And that means more than ever that the only vote against these twin parties of disaster is a vote for a genuine peace candidate.

SINGLE CANDIDATE UNLIKELY: The likelihood of Eisenhower emerging on both old party tickets is remote. While the nomination is clearly for the purpose of establishing a "national front" candidacy rather than a purely Republican one, the interests behind the Eisenhower decision are not yet ready to make a public spectacle of their ditching of the revered two-party system. Furthermore, the big-city and state-wide machines making up the Democratic Party are not disposed to accept what amounts to liquidation.

The most likely Democrat strategy will be for Truman to step aside in favor of Supreme Court Chief Justice Vinson, as discussed in the August "Fact Sheet" of the Progressive Party, in order to satisfy the machines and hold the South in the Democratic column despite the possible defection of the Dixiecrats.

A not-so-dark horse on the Democratic side is Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and TV fame, who is ready to run and whose 81-year-old father predicts would "sweep the Solid South." A ticket composed of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and Sen. Kefauver would stand a real chance of defeating the Eisenhower ticket—which is sufficient reason to predict that such a ticket may never get beyond the speculative stage.

A DOUGLAS DRAFT? Douglas last week publicly withdrew his name from consideration for the Democratic nomination, but this does not place him beyond a draft call such as might come from labor and other elements in the Democratic orbit.

Although Douglas' positions on all issues confronting the 1952 voter are not known, he has joined Justice Black in notable dissents on civil liberties cases and he has challenged the bipartisan foreign policy more sharply than any other leading Democrat. Kefauver, on the other hand, has supported the bipartisan war policies and recently proposed consideration of bombing Manchuria if the Korean armistice talks should fail. This runs directly counter to Douglas' repeated proposals for understanding rather than bombing of Asia, and can certainly offer little appeal to the peace-seeking people of the U.S.



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Court hears Rosenbergs' appeal; 3 judges considering their fate

(Continued from Page 1)

It was on this "deal" that Bloch had concentrated in his trial summation, devoting one third of his allotted time to show that, in testifying as they did against their in-laws, the Greenglasses' "motive was self-preservation." But on Thursday Bloch drew attention to Judge Kaufman's charge to the jury in which, "summing up" the defense's contentions about the Greenglass testimony, the judge had attributed it to "the trouble they had with the Greenglasses while in business together, or for some other unknown reason." Bloch argued that by this "some other unknown reason" formulation, Judge Kaufman "gutted the theory of the defense" instead of summing it up.

For the first time in Bloch's 40 minutes of argumentation there was an outward sign of interest among the three figures sitting above him. Finally it was Judge Chase who broke the silence. How, he wondered, would "this little statement by the judge" have mattered to the jury?

Alice began to feel very uneasy; thought she: "They're dreadfully fond of beholding people here; the great wonder is, that there's anyone left alive!"

ON TRIAL FOR WHAT: Bloch also contended that it was improper for the court and prosecutor to elicit from the government's witnesses and from the Rosenbergs all sorts of testimony concerning the defendants' political beliefs. It was "perfectly lawful" for them, as for any citizen, to discuss the merits of capitalism and socialism; and the persistent injection of testimony concerning such discussions

"... is not trying a defendant for espionage, it is trying a defendant for his political beliefs."

Bloch pointed out that the government never showed the defendants to have been members of the Communist Party; yet "that notorious character" Elizabeth Bentley had been put on the stand to testify that Party membership provided "intent" to commit espionage for the U. S. S. R.

Judge Chase couldn't follow Bloch's argument. "It isn't a crime," the judge said, then corrected himself, "—or it wasn't a crime then, to be a member of the Communist Party."

Sobell—"if there is a case"

The appeal for Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment without a single overt act being charged against him, was argued before the court by Harold M. Phillips, 76-year-old attorney who has practiced law since 1898. Nothing he said aroused the three judges sufficiently to induce them to ask the attorney a single question. Phillips stressed five points:

1. The government's case—"if there is a case"—resting entirely on the testimony of one witness, Max Elitcher, showed an insufficiency of evidence against Sobell. Elitcher had characterized himself on the stand as a "liar" who had continuously been "scared to death" for having falsified a government loyalty-oath form; and his fear of being jailed for five years was what induced him to "cater" to the government. Phillips pointed out that Elitcher had never been indicted for perjury, and that in his first statement to the authorities he made no mention of Sobell.

2. Even if all the government's evidence was believed, it showed two separate conspiracies which should have been tried separately. Quoting the statement Judge Kaufman made in sentencing Sobell to 30 years in prison, "the evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom bomb project," Phillips said it was "monstrous to connect Sobell to the same trial."

3. The indictment against Sobell was too "vague and indefinite" to be sustained; except for being listed as a defendant there was no mention of Sobell's name. Phillips asked the judges how Sobell possibly could have defended himself since, after requesting from

the government a bill of particulars.

"... all he was allowed to know was the date he was alleged to have joined the conspiracy."

"You'd better not talk!" said Five. "I heard the Queen say only yesterday you deserved to be beheaded."

"What for?" said the one who had spoken first.

"That's none of your business," said Seven.

4. Sobell was denied a fair trial by the misconduct of the judge and prosecutor and by the use of evidence showing that, three years before the conspiracy allegedly began, he was said to have



JUDGE IRVING KAUFMAN
There were 210 instances

been a member of the Communist Party. "According to the theory of the government," said Phillips, "the entire Communist Party is part of this conspiracy."

5. The U. S. had no jurisdiction on Sobell since it was found to infer he had been illegally kidnaped from Mexico on orders of the FBI.

SELECTED "FACTS": Replying for the government on Friday were asst. U. S. attorneys Kilsheimer and Robinson. In his 45 minutes Kilsheimer dwelt almost exclusively on what the government's brief stated as "the facts" in the case—a collection blandly set forth (Bloch called this typical of the "blitzkrieg tactics of the government throughout the trial") as if there had never been any defense testimony or cross-examination of prosecution witnesses; as if the government, whenever there was a conflict in the testimony of their own witnesses, had the option of selecting the most favorable for their side; and as if, whenever the evidence was not sufficiently forceful, the government had the right to alter it to suit the purposes of a given argument.

Kilsheimer concluded his recital of the "facts," into which argument of defense points of law hardly intruded: "Such is the tale of infamy which the evidence below discloses."

"No, no!" said the Queen. "Sentence first—verdict afterwards."

"Stuff and nonsense!" said Alice loudly. "The idea of having the sentence first!"

"Off with her head!" the Queen shouted at the top of her voice.

WONDERLAND UNLIMITED: The judges put two questions to Kilsheimer at the start of his recital (both he and Robinson read from prepared statements). The youthful U. S. Asst. Atty. became flustered in trying to answer them; thereafter none of the judges ventured further question.

Some examples of the kind of logic employed in the government's brief from which the two young men did their reading follow:

• The Rosenbergs do not challenge the

sufficiency of the evidence. Indeed, their guilt is too plain to admit of dispute.

"What do you know about this business?" the King said to Alice.

"Nothing," said Alice.

"Nothing whatever?" persisted the King.

"Nothing whatever," said Alice.

"That's very important," the King said, turning to the jury.

• September of 1945 was a very productive month for the Rosenberg espionage network. [The statement is made on the basis of evidence, if believed, which showed that the "network" consisted of one corporal at work.]

• During this period (1946-49) they were in close contact with one another and Rosenberg took his brother-in-law into his confidence concerning his espionage activities.

(It is on the basis of this "close contact" between Rosenberg and Greenglass that the government offered testimony portraying Rosenberg as a "master spy." The government's "statement of facts," submitted for the Appellate Court's consideration, does not mention Greenglass' admissions that during his "close contact" he and Rosenberg had "business quarrels of every type and every kind"; that he physically assaulted Rosenberg; and that the Greenglasses instituted a law suit against the Rosenbergs.)

• The year 1950 sounded the curfew on the espionage activities of the Rosenbergs, Sobell and their cohorts.

(Who were the "cohorts?" Except for the Greenglasses' implication of the Rosenbergs, the government has yet to produced any confessed spy who ever heard of either the Rosenbergs or Sobell, let alone worked with them.)

• In June, 1950, Morton Sobell and his family fled from this country to Mexico in a manner which paralleled Rosenberg's instructions to Greenglass.

(The "parallel": Greenglass testified he was to slip across the border, spend three days in Mexico, and then leave to find haven "behind the Iron Curtain." Sobell and his family obtained visas and booked passage in their own names; rented and lived in an apartment in their own names for two months before they were kidnaped and

brought back to the U. S.)

"A likely story indeed!" said the pigeon, in a tone of the deepest contempt. "I've seen a good many little girls in my time, but never one with such a neck as that! No, no! You're a serpent; and there's no use denying it."

• Because of Miss Bentley's position and experience in the Communist Party, she was unquestionably qualified to testify to its inner workings. [In elaborating on Bentley's "expert testimony," Asst. U. S. Atty. Robinson described her as a "former high-ranking member of the Party." The facts: she never at any time held any position in the CP.]

DEATH & DISCRETION: Answering the Rosenbergs' argument about the trial judge's prejudicial conduct (the brief cites 210 instances), the government brief said "the judge's questions were widely scattered and relatively few in number." Answering Sobell's argument about the prosecutor's misconduct (40 instances cited in the brief), the government called these instances "so few and trivial that the complaint would seem to be motivated ... by personal animosity. ..."

Imposition of the death sentence for this offense of which they maintain their complete innocence—"proven" by the evidence of confessed spies in jeopardy of their own lives—the Rosenbergs in their brief called "cruel and inhuman punishment" in violation of the 8th Amendment.

The government's answer: it was "a sound exercise of the trial judge's discretion."

"Have you guessed the riddle yet?" the Hatter said, turning to Alice again. "No, I give it up," Alice replied. "What's the answer?"

"I haven't the slightest idea," said the Hatter.

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A Mother Writes From the Death House

"We said, and we say again, that we are victims of the greatest type of political frame-up ever known in America."

—Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg

FOR YOUR COURAGE

We thank the editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN for their articles revealing the gross injustice perpetrated in the Rosenberg Case.

FOR YOUR HUMANITY

We thank the many hundreds of GUARDIAN readers who responded so magnificently to our appeal for funds and sponsors to help secure justice in the Rosenberg Case.

YOUR SUPPORT HAS MADE POSSIBLE

- Establishment of a national office at 246 Fifth Av., N. Y. C.
- Publication in pamphlet form of William A. Reuben's GUARDIAN articles (25,000 sold and paid for in three weeks; 25,000 more now on the presses).
- Preparation of a compelling fact sheet for national distribution.
- Activity from Maine to California.
- Preparation of a nationwide speakers tour.
- Preparation for big public meetings in major cities in the next two months.
- Advertisements in major English and Yiddish newspapers around the country, some of which already have been placed.
- Payment of certain legal expenses.
- A happier holiday for the Rosenberg children.
- Establishment of a national committee whose sponsors include: Hon. Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. Katherine Dodd, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, B. Z. Goldberg, Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac, Rev. Spencer Kennard. Joseph Brainin is provisional chairman.

But We Have Just Begun to Act!

Write to Pres. Truman, Atty. Gen. McGrath and your senators—ask that the verdict and sentence be set aside.

Contribute funds to the committee. Order pamphlets, ask for speakers.

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case
246 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

Please enlist me in the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Enclosed \$..... to help bring the facts of the case to a wider audience and to assure funds for legal needs. Please send me copies of all materials issued by the Committee. You may (may not) use my name in the Committee's work.

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WAR & PEACE

Truman 'pinpoints' a depression; cold war leaders swarm to Ike

"WAR SOON OR HEREAFTER?": This question, said the Wall St. Journal (Jan. 11), begins to nag military planners who fear "we are building up a great stock of obsolete and obsolescent weapons," as much as "the more crucial question of whether there will be war at all." The same unspoken question haunted the President's State of the Union message last week.

A "considerable portion" of this, one of his most important state papers, was devoted to "a not too dignified denunciation" of the Soviet regime (WSJ, Jan. 10). The Fair Deal program was presented in "mild and unhopeful tones"



New Orleans Times-Picayune

(N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 13); the call for civil rights action "was vague and rather muted" (N. Y. Times, Jan. 13); the Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley Laws went unmentioned, but there was commendation for George Washington.

The President, however, did point to something important: the "amazing" increase "in our capacity to produce." The U. S. is now, he said, "... in the second year of a three-year program which will double our output of aluminum, increase our electric power supply by 40%, and increase our steel-making capacity by 15%. We can then produce 120 million tons of steel a year, as much as all the rest of the world put together."

DEPRESSION "PINPOINTED": In a widely separated section of his speech, he promised that in 1954 arms production can be "substantially" reduced. Thus, commented Sylvia Porter (N. Y. Post, Jan. 9), he inadvertently "pinpointed the time for the next depression." She noted that "as our capacity to produce will hit the peak, our remobilization spending will be sharply cut."

The President left no doubt as to his answer to the unspoken question, the dilemma of every armament economy. His message reeked of warnings: "We had one Pearl Harbor, let's not get caught off guard again"; "the threat of world war is still very real." Calling for national unity in this "period of grave danger," he demanded "full steam ahead" in arms production, still further enlargement of the armed forces (already 3,500,000), more money for the military, particularly the Air Force—all to be financed out of the people's living standards.

CONGRESS vs. THE PEOPLE: Truman spoke to Congressmen returning from home precincts where they found voters worried about "corruption, taxes, waste and Korea (WSJ, Jan. 8). Said an "internationalist minded Democratic Senator": "People are more interested in ending the war than in whether Korea is to be divided." A midwest Republican: "[My constituents] don't have any solution of their own, but want the Korean war over somehow." Sen. Guy Cordon (R-Ore.): "More and more people are confused and indignant over foreign policy. Korea epitomizes the whole sit-

uation for them."

But Congressmen, otherwise cool, applauded the President's foreign-military program; eager to get on with politicking, they were expected to do little beyond rubber-stamp it and continue their 134 or more investigations.

IKE & THE CRISIS: In many respects the Administration seemed to be "almost falling apart" (U. S. News, Jan. 11), with corruption a surface manifestation of the failure of its war policy. It was against this backdrop that cold-war publicists and public figures leaped on the Eisenhower bandwagon, seeing a "leader" and savior of their policy.

The general's candidacy was, in fact, an acknowledgment of the fact noted by Walter Lippmann (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 14), that "the position of the Allied nations the world over is ... deteriorating." On every important front of the cold war, Washington, as 1952 began, faced deepening crisis.

Another French govt. falls

IN France Premier Pleven's five-month-old coalition government fell when the Assembly rejected, 341 to 243, his budget economies at the expense of the social security system and the state-owned railroads. Reflecting like earlier cabinet crises the paralysis of France since the Communists—the largest party—were ousted as the price of Marshall aid in 1947, the fall of the 12th government since the war had new and threatening implications for Washington's policy. Harold Callender (N. Y. Times from Paris, Jan. 9) explained that the difficulty of maintaining a majority for the present foreign policy (even in this Assembly elected by laws rigged to exclude the Left) lay in

... the presence in most parties of what a writer in Le Monde calls "Bevanism"—the desire to reduce the defense budget and call off the war in Indo-China. Both the extremely nationalist De Gaullists and the "Bevanists" rebel against the influence and leadership of the U. S. and the exactions of the Atlantic Pact. A considerable portion of the divided Socialists lean toward "Bevanism." ... It is hard for any Cabinet to defend these policies [rearming and Indo-China war] when many Frenchmen believe France cannot pay for them. It is therefore hard to defend the Atlantic Pact which places new burdens on the French, many of whom do not wholly share Washington's view of the Russian danger.



INDO-CHINA—LAST STRAW: CBS European chief Howard K. Smith (Jan. 13) called the government's fall a demonstration to the U. S. and Britain that the French Parliament will not foot the bill for both the Indo-China War and the U. S.-imported arms program. Two weeks ago, Smith said, the cabinet decided one of its commitments had to be dropped and chose Indo-China—which costs a billion dollars a year (1/7 of all French expenditures), casualties officially placed at 38,000, the cream of the French officer corps.

This decision, reflected in recent speeches by Foreign Minister Schuman, Defense Minister Meyer, Daladier and Mendes-France, was carried last week to Washington by Inspector General of the French Army Alphonse Juin. Juin, according to Smith, told the military chiefs of the U. S., Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, gathered at a top-secret Pentagon conference on

Southeast Asia at French request, that "France will seek a truce with the Reds in all Asia as a way to end the war in Indo-China," and may even support China's entry into UN, unless Washington and London give real help—troops, air and naval support, money.

WASHINGTON SHUDDERS: Designed to conceal France's weakening position in Indo-China and justify possible intervention, Washington's concerted propaganda campaign about a Chinese "threat" to Indo-China faltered somewhat, reflecting the policy-makers' dilemma. The N. Y. Times (Jan. 9) found "no imminent crisis" in Southeast Asia. UP (from Washington, Jan. 11) said the U. S. answer to French requests "for a flat commitment to rush armed forces to Southeast Asia if the Reds should strike there in force," and for increased military aid, "was expected" to be a flat no. "Washington's officials oppose committing U. S. armed forces 'partly because they do not feel a new Communist 'adventure' is imminent there"; they also "shudder at the prospect of another 'localized war' in Asia"; they might offer naval and air support, but France's acceptance of this was "problematical." Reported UP:

Paris dispatches said France ... has reopened with the U. S. the entire question of recognizing Red China and admitting it to the UN as an alternative to stepped up U. S. military aid. French diplomats were represented by informed sources as suggesting some form of "package deal" with China as a means of restoring peace both in Korea and Indo-China. While the U. S. is flatly opposed to any such approach, these quarters said France may be forced to act on its own unless further military commitments are forthcoming.

THE DILEMMA: Washington's dilemma, said Ned Russell (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 13) was that

... failure to back up the French program would have grave repercussions in France as well as the whole of Southeast Asia. Yet they were determined to avoid any further scattering of American forces. ...

Suggesting a possible Washington answer, James Reston (N. Y. Times, Jan. 10) said it "is worrying primarily about whether and how to bring its air and naval power to bear on the Peiping regime. ..."

The French initiative contained large elements of blackmail; but stubborn realities might compel France to a genuine effort to change Western policy in Asia. In France, President Auriol called without success on Socialists, de Gaullists, Catholic Republicans and the Center to form a government.

Britain's "greatest crisis yet"

LONDON announced last week that during 1951's 4th quarter the sterling bloc, for which Britain is banker, spent nearly a million dollars more than it earned—the worst dollar and gold-reserve drain in British history. Superficially like other financial crises plaguing Britain since the cold war, this one was called by the London Times "our greatest crisis yet." The news, Michael Hoffman reported from Geneva (N. Y. Times, Jan. 8),

... sent something akin to a shudder through Europe. ... Continental financial circles do not see how [it] can be solved by purely administrative remedies such as cutting dollar imports, tightening up on capital movements, or slashing tourist allowances. It is now widely accepted in Europe that the existence of the sterling area itself is in doubt.

TIN FOUNDATIONS: With Commonwealth finance ministers scheduled to meet this week to effect just such measures, London asked Washington to buy more tin from Malaya, allocate Britain more steel and other raw materials. High tin prices following Korea (\$1.83 a lb. in March, 1951) did most to build up Britain's dollar reserves early last year, but the U. S. moved to force them down (the tin cartel is largely controlled by British capital) by making the RFC sole U. S. tin-buying agency. RFC stopped buying, held out for \$1.12 a lb.

Truman and Churchill reportedly agreed on \$1.25 a lb. as part of a deal for exchange of U. S. steel for British tin and Canadian aluminum on which Britain has an option. The pattern for this exchange was set last November when Britain asked the U. S. for 800,000 tons of steel, got 98,500, half of which was so expensive it was "not in demand" here. In return Britain handed

over 22,045,000 lbs. of aluminum ordered in Canada, on the promise it will get the same amount this year.

For want of steel and aluminum British factories are closing, threatening a cut in exports. Britain's tin supply is threatened by the continuing war against liberation forces in Malaya, which is not going well: Churchill recently rushed new commanders there to try to stem the tide.

WINNIE GETS POOHED: Britain's near-bankruptcy was ruled out of the Truman-Churchill talks. Churchill apparently achieved his purpose of establishing good personal relations, but little else; British feeling was that the talks "left U. S.-British relations just



Ludas Matyl, Budapest

"You're killing me, Harry. You a democrat and me a peace-lover!"

about where they were before" (N. Y. Times, Jan. 10). If Churchill sought a stronger agreement than that won by Attlee more than a year ago on U. S. delivery of A-bombs from British bases, he did not get it.

Churchill and Eden yielded to heavy U. S. pressure to let Chiang Kai-shek sign the Japanese peace treaty (in violation of an earlier U. S.-British agreement). Washington said that while Chiang would sign "for Formosa," Japan would be "free" to trade with China—a proviso insisted upon by Eden. (Britain is already fighting Japanese competition in Southeast Asia.)

GLOOMY HOMECOMING: In New York on Jan. 12 Eden declared, in direct contradiction to President Truman, that war is less likely now than a year or two years ago; proposed a step-by-step approach "towards a general agreement to live and let live." This indication of British disagreement with Washington's aim to "contract" Communist power suggested that other forces than U. S. pressure might eventually be decisive. Churchill returns to a domestic crisis which will come to a head when he presents his economy cuts in housing, health, education and probably food subsidies to the opening of Parliament Jan. 29. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer wrote:

The Government is trying to create a panic which will either give them the opportunity to stage a snap general election in the hope of securing a panic victory as in 1931, or else enable them to face the trade unions with the question whether they are serious in backing the rearmament drive. My own view is that a big proportion, even a majority of the unions, are coming out against the arms program rather than accept the attack on living standards.

New Soviet atom proposal

IN Paris, UN's General Assembly rejected Soviet proposals for a special Security Council meeting on Korea and the cold war, approved the Western disarmament plan and a much watered-down resolution for punishment of aggression sponsored by the Collective Measures Committee. Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky made new proposals on A-bomb control which he called "a tremendous step forward toward agreement on a most vital question." He accepted "continuing" rather than periodic inspection and simultaneous putting into effect of (rather than simultaneous decisions on) prohibition and the control system. After 24 hours' study, U. S. delegate Gross called it "doubletalk without meaning."

Vishinsky's proposal was part of an 8-point program including an immediate Korean armistice, one-third arms reduction, a world disarmament conference by July 1, and a five-power peace pact. To the West European members of the Atlantic Pact, who had just been told by the Harriman Committee that their defense budgets must total \$74,-

000,000,000 for the three years ending 1954 (when the Harriman Committee started work last November on its job of easing the defense burden, their proposed defense budgets totaled \$38,300,000,000), the proposals were bound to have an appeal. With Washington nearing an open alliance with Franco, Western Germany's ratification of the Schuman Plan, and the Bonn announcement that Allied-German plans will be "modified to permit creation of a national German Army" (N.Y. Times, Jan. 11) with tank and motor-division and a jet-equipped air force, the appeal was enhanced.

ARAB-ASIAN PEACE BRAKES: As the Korean talks remained deadlocked, the U.S. Airforce last week suffered its heaviest losses of the Korean war. Robert S. Allen (N.Y. Post, Jan. 12) reported:

Of the Joint Chiefs, Air Gen. Vandenberg is the most urgent favoring a truce. . . . Vandenberg's view has caused the Joint Chiefs to review the entire strategy in Korea. U.S. pressure on the Paris Assembly to reject Soviet attempts to end the war through UN machinery continued. But Thomas J. Hamilton reported (N.Y. Times, Jan. 13):

The temper of the current session . . . makes it doubtful if anything short of the most blatant act of bad faith by the Communist Generals would impel the Assembly to approve actions that might lead to a general Asiatic war—and World War III. Delegates from the Arab and Asian countries, together with one or two Latin Americans, have shown a tendency to take the attitude of a plague on both your houses on a number of controversial issues that have arisen here between the Soviet Union and the U.S. There is a tendency to do everything possible to avoid a showdown.

PEACE

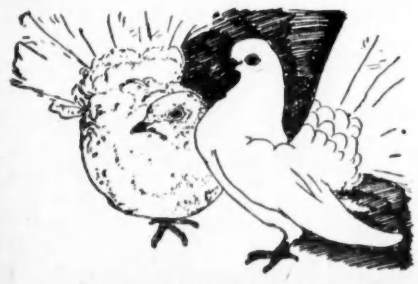
HST speech swells 'negotiations' demand

IN his State of the Union message the President made 20 references to the desire for peace; his main proposals were for more arms everywhere. The contradiction, said the U.S. sponsoring committee for the American Inter-Continental Peace Conference, further pointed up the need for broadest people's support of the conference, which opens Mar. 11 in Rio de Janeiro. It was postponed last week from Jan. 22. The committee said:

World tensions can only be settled . . . around the conference table. The Conference can provide a forum for the 300,000,000 people of this hemisphere to voice their desire for immediate measures to settle such tensions . . . and for an end to the many social injustices which have arisen out of them.

To the outspoken critics of U.S. policy as reflected in Truman's speech were added Clarence Pickett, secy. of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), and Frank Rosenblum, secy.-treas. of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a CIO vice-president. Pickett, who had just toured Europe and served on a Quaker observation team at UN in Paris, castigated the "containment" policy toward "inevitable social and economic upheavals" throughout the world. Rosenblum, in Minneapolis, charged that the "war party" in the U.S. is "bent on mass suicide and would drag us down with them." Viewing Soviet internal policies with distaste, he said it was nevertheless "folly to assume" the U.S. and U.S.S.R. "cannot live in the same world. . . . The situation now calls for negotiations, and more negotiations."

OPENING ON GERMANY: An impressive group of 99 U.S. educators,



Drawing by Toshiko Akamatsu, Tokyo



The 1952 silly season is on

Sen. Estes Kefauver (c.) who used to be even more dignified than Frank Costello during the Senate crime investigation hearings, has dropped the pose now that he's a candidate for President. Here he pays off a football debt to Sen. Herbert O'Connor (l.). The bet was a live raccoon against a barrel of oysters. Will raccoons ever take the place of chorus girls in campaign pictures—or politicians?

clergymen and writers, including James P. Warburg, Mark van Doren, Prof. Linus Pauling, Pitirim Sorokin, Hans Morgenthau and Carey McWilliams, in a long letter to Truman urged immediate negotiations with Russia and a detailed agreement on Germany unity, boundaries and demilitarization—the alternative to "Germany's attainment of full and uncontrolled power" which would create "an immediate and present danger of war." They said that U.S. treaties with Japan and decisions on Germany "become a binding precedent and lead to war" unless followed up by negotiations promptly.

From the maternity ward of Chicago's Reese Hospital 32 white and Negro mothers wrote Truman on the back of a temperature record demanding peace as "the greatest single need of all our newly-born children."

CHARGES U.S. "CANNIBALISM": The Detroit News published a long letter from Brig Gen. (ret'd.) Herbert C. Holdridge, candidate for the Presidency, replying to an editorial statement that "in America, the only persons who profit from war, usually in a mean, piddling way, are the 5 per centers and their ilk." Holdridge wrote:

War is America's business. "Murder, Incorporated" has become our major industry, in which we are investing \$100,000 million a year. . . . Every economist (even the apologists from the Taft or Truman camp) will enlighten your staff as to the relations between America's economy and war. . . . Every manufacturing establishment is vying for plush war contracts because, without them, the future holds only the threat of bankruptcy. . . . These "piddling 5 per centers" are only the ushers for American businessmen, leading them into the House of War. Their commissions are truly a sign of depravity, but how can you deceive our school children about the 95 per centers—from whose bounty the 5 per cent is paid?

Organized labor, too, has allowed itself to become an accessory after the fact. . . . Most of the American people—those who are eating regularly and even moderately well—are eating because our boys are dying in Korea, a form of social cannibalism. Figuratively, we eat our own sons. This is not "Red" propaganda; this is the truth.

PACT CAMPAIGNS LAUNCHED: Campaigns around the country for signatures to Big 5 peace pact petitions were getting briskly off the ground. In Philadelphia a mass of approving mail following a Progressive Party radio series, "Life Begins With Peace," promised rich results for the three-week signature campaign to be launched at a rally on FDR's birthday, Jan. 30. New Jersey's campaign got under way with a statewide conference in Newark Jan. 6 in which 150 spokesmen for women's, youth, Negro, veterans', and civil rights groups participated. The Northwest set itself a quota of 20,000 signatures by the end of January.

Chicago's campaign was sparked at an active peace workers' meeting Jan.

11 with Robert Morss Lovett, former governor of the Virgin Islands, as one speaker and radio commentator Oscar Brown Jr. making the keynote speech. Co-operating Illinois groups issued their own petitions, including the PP of Illinois, the new Chicago Jewish-American Council for Peace, the Greek-American Committee for Peace, the Chicago Women for Peace, Chicago Veterans for Peace and Senior Citizens for Peace. Special meetings to plan their campaigns were called by the Illinois Labor Council for Peace and Polish-American Committee for Peace.



Action, Paris "They say they won't go on board until a Big Five pact is signed."

UMT FIGHT: Hearing on a "voluntary" Universal Military Training plan, under which 60,000 men 17 and 18 would start training this year, were set to open before Rep. Vinson's (D-Ga.) House Armed Services Committee Jan. 15. Rep. Dewey Short (R-Mo.), ranking minority member of the committee, called it "a bag of tricks" and said opposition was growing in the House; the Detroit Free Press said the opposition saw an attempt to "help shove a full-scale, compulsory UMT program through Congress in the face of developing opposition."

Replies from Vinson to requests to appear before the committee from all-out opponents of UMT indicated every effort would be made to avoid hearing them unless great pressure was applied. The Assn. of American Colleges, meeting last week in Washington, carried a resolution urging Congress to delay UMT in any form. The resolution called UMT as a permanent policy . . . fantastically expensive, educationally undesirable, morally hazardous, politically dangerous.

THE LAW

200 lawyers rebuff Smith Act victims

LAST September President Truman made a stirring appeal to the collective conscience of U.S. lawyers: Lawyers in the past have risked the obloquy of the uninformed to protect the

rights of the most degraded. Unless they continue to do so in the future, an important part of our rights will be gone.

Bar associations applauded. But as the President spoke, 17 Smith Act victims in New York were seeking attorneys to defend them; they consulted more than 200, including a former Supreme Court Justice, a former Justice of the State Supreme Court, a former federal judge, a former member of the War Labor Board, the officials of local and national bar associations. All turned them down.

Last Friday 16 of the 17 appeared in court with the only two lawyers who would take their case: Frank Serri of Brooklyn, and John T. McTernan of California, from 1938 to 1942 NLRB regional attorney for Northern California and former OPA enforcement attorney for the same region. Two of the defendants, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, elected to defend themselves. Trial date was set for Mar. 3.

SHY PIGEONS: In Los Angeles defense attorneys for 15 Smith Act victims there—scheduled to go on trial Jan. 28—were fighting in court for the right to examine documents to be presented by the government as evidence. Asst. U.S. Atty. Norman Neukom opposed the move on the ground that government informers would be revealed. Of one such informer he said:

"The witness is a very important man in Los Angeles—he's very high up in the community. He told me that if his name comes to light before the trial, he'll either not be able to testify, or he'll be so embarrassed he'll have to leave the city."



Defense attorneys also attacked the indictments as unconstitutional on five specific points, made two separate motions to quash them.

TWO DISBARRED: During the week the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in behalf of five attorneys who defended the 11 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1949. At the conclusion of the trial the five were sentenced for contempt of court to jail sentences ranging from 30 days to six months.

Two of the five, Harry Sacher and Abraham Isserman, have been disbarred from federal practice in the southern district of New York (Sacher for life, Isserman for two years). The Natl. Lawyers Guild last week said of the disbarment:

At a time when representation by counsel for persons charged with political offenses has become so difficult to obtain as to cause even the President of the U.S. to express concern, the effect of this decision may be to aggravate these difficulties.

The unburied mink

ONE MONTH AGO President Truman cut short his Florida browning bee to rush back to Washington in the face of mounting exposure of corruption in his administration. Grimly he announced he would appoint a special commission to ferret out the wrongdoers who would "have no place in my house."

Chief source of corruption was the Justice Dept., supervised by Atty. Gen. McGrath who defended one of the chief offenders (T. Lamar Caudle, fired by the President) before a Senate Committee. The word was that McGrath was on his way out. His own statements indicated an it-was-good-pickings-while-it-lasted attitude.

Then came the news that Truman was having trouble getting prominent persons to accept places on the inquiry commission. Federal Judge Thomas Murphy agreed, then declined. The difficulties seemed largely inspired by White House press agents.

Last week Mr. Truman decided: The commission idea was out; there was no man better qualified to investigate corruption in government than the man in charge of the law enforcement agencies—Atty. Gen. McGrath.

Get subs — Send \$\$ to the Guardian.

FREEDOMS

Nation-wide demand for action on Moores

NO ONE COULD SAY how many memorial services were held for Harry T. Moore and his wife, Harriet, on Sunday, Jan. 6, but few Negro churches in the land let the day go by without expressing the sorrow and the anger aroused by the Christmas night bomb-murder of the Florida leader of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Many white churches joined in the mourning.

One of the largest services was at the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in Harlem. There 2,500 were stirred by an announcement by Walter White, NAACP executive secy., that his organization would meet with top U.S. labor leaders to seek a nation-wide work-stoppage to protest the Florida killings. The Marine Cooks & Stewards and the Fur & Leather Workers promptly backed the proposal; District 65 of the Distributive, Processing & Office Workers held a protest meeting in front of the New York offices of the Dept. of Justice. Labor, official weekly paper of 15 railroad brotherhoods, wrote:

Much of the responsibility for the present shocking developments must be laid at the door of reactionary northern Big Businessmen, who poured money into Florida to finance the racial and religious hatred campaign against former Sen. Claude Pepper and thus defeated him in the primary election. Some of the fires flaring up now undoubtedly were lighted then and the wealthy men responsible have done nothing to turn off the blaze they started.

That's the way the Nazis, financed by big industrialists, started in Germany. They began the violence against "non-Aryans," and went on to smash trade unions and democracy. Anything like that here should be nipped in the bud.

SPECIAL JURY ASKED: The work-stoppage proposal was also backed by a New York labor symposium on Civil Rights Congress charges before the UN that the U.S. is guilty of genocide against the Negro people; the rally drew an overflow crowd of 2,500.



Both the AFL and CIO were among 16 organizations in a delegation to Atty. Gen. McGrath on Jan. 9. Spokesman Walter White urged a special federal grand jury to handle the Florida cases, and prosecution for contempt of the U.S. Supreme Court of Florida Sheriff Willis McCall. On Nov. 6 he killed Samuel Shepherd and wounded Walter Irvin, two rape charge victims of the Groveland riot of 1949. The Moore murders followed.

McGrath evaded both demands, but assured the delegation that the FBI had direct orders and complete authority to operate in the Florida cases. He acknowledged, however, that the FBI still has not completed a report on the McCall shootings.

Other organizations on the delega-

tion included the Natl. Council of Churches, American Civil Liberties Union, Natl. Council of Negro Women, Natl. Catholic Welfare Council, Natl. Baptist Convention, Anti-Defamation League, Americans for Democratic Action, Catholic Interracial Council and American Jewish Committee.

UNLIMITED REPRIEVE: Mrs. Moore was buried near her husband following services in the same little church in the orange groves. Attending was a delegation of 20 labor, religious and civic leaders from 12 states. They were later granted an audience with Gov. Fuller Warren who, in an unprecedented move, had the entire mixed delegation as his lunch guests in the executive mansion.

Earlier the governor had acted swiftly to grant an unlimited reprieve to a convicted white murderer after Sheriff McCall said the condemned man was ready to swear he had overheard Shepherd and Irvin "planning to escape" while they were in death house cells near his. The Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weekly, wrote that the reaction of all Negro leaders was: "It smells to high heaven."

Most wanted to know why it took 60 days for him to talk; he was to have been executed Jan. 7.

The conservative Southern Regional Council put major blame for the Florida violence on Florida police:

The lower police standards in most of the region are an invitation to private violence; indeed, they have on many occasions fostered the resort to extra-legal actions.

BOYCOTT IS ON: In New York Rep.



Afro-American, Baltimore

TIME TO CLEAN THIS MESS UP, SON!

Klein (D) told a delegation of his constituents that he would protest the Moore murders in Congress, apologized for a recent Florida vacation, promised he would not go there again. Around the country a boycott of the state's winter resorts and its big orchard citrus products was gaining rapidly.

One of the first bills introduced in the current New York legislature was one by Sen. William J. Bianchi (R-ALP) memorializing President Truman "to act at once to insure quick apprehension, prosecution and punishment" of the Moore murderers.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in Town Meeting tradition **MARTIN HALL** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Donation: 60c.

Berkeley, Calif.

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FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Jan. 25: **RUSSIAN BALLERINA** (U.S.S.R.), **SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN** (new color documentary).

ASP PRESENTS CHAMBER MUSIC FESTIVAL, Sun., Jan. 20, 3:30 p.m. Selections from Bach, Beethoven, Schubert Russian folk songs by 15 artist musicians. Donation \$1. At ASP Center, 946 No. Clark St.

"JUST FOR FUN" PARTY sponsored by 7th & 8th Wards PP at Lou Fox's home, 7926 Calumet Av. Sun., Jan. 20, 7 p.m. till —. Games, group singing, new recordings from Soviet Union and full meal. Piano recital and Oscar Brown Jr. Donation \$1.25.

MID-WINTER CONCERT by Jewish Peoples Choral Society. Sat., Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m. Herzl Junior College, Douglas Blvd. & Lawndale Av. Bernard Brindel, conductor. Featured soloist: Miss Lola Rand, soprano. A group of dances will be presented by Misses Etta Joan Buro and Beverly Zimmitt.

Boston

PEACE IS POLITICS IN 1952. Hear: Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell Univ atomic scientist; C. B. Baldwin, natl. secy. of Prog. Party. Sun. eve., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Hotel Lenox, cor. Boylston & Essex Sts., Boston (near Copley Sq.).

27th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE DAILY WORKER. Hear: John Pittman, foreign editor of Daily Worker. Fri., Jan. 25, 8:15 p.m. Ritz Plaza Halls, 218 Huntington Av., Boston (nr. Symphony Hall). Adm., 50c. Auspices: Freedom of Press Association.

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General

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MILL CITY, ORE. I could write about things political, as most of your correspondents do, but this time I'm just going to tell you that almost as much as the wonderful presentation of facts that you give, I appreciate each and every advertisement. I drool over the camps and resorts, the art galleries and small shops I will probably never get to patronize. I read about social and political events that are taking place in Los Angeles, Chicago, etc., and sigh with envy at those who can attend.

Ruth Stevall

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LABOR

Militancy ahead—union tsars worried

NEW witch-hunts and new raids were designed to head off a new militancy that is predicted to grow as the economic squeeze tightens.

The Journal of Commerce hoisted these storm signals:

Government labor officials would be well advised not to continue to congratulate themselves over the drop in strikes during the last year. . . . Last year the number of man-days lost through strikes was less than half the total for 1950. The 10% pattern for wage rises, plus cost-of-living escalator clauses and fringe benefits, made it relatively easy for employers to settle with the union. But now a new day has dawned. Most unions have received all that they are entitled to get under existing wage stabilization rules.

In Chicago last week 4,000 members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers walked out on a two-day stoppage by way of answer to Armour & Co.'s offer of a 6c wage rise. The union had an agreement with the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters to make no unilateral settlement with the packers. The AFL, however, not only took the 6c but further agreed the raise would not go into effect unless the companies got a corresponding price boost.

PHIL & THE FILTHY PLOT: Steel-worker militancy was being closely reined by Philip Murray as a Wage Stabilization Board panel opened hearings on steel wages. Though stickers on steel plant walls still call for a 30c-an-hour boost, Murray opened by asking for 15c, pegging his argument thus:

"Our country needs steel. Steel is the basic ingredient in our whole defense program. Without steel the free world would fall easy prey to the filthy, aggressive plots of the Communist rulers of the Kremlin."

CIO NEWS BLASTS WILSON

The plot against America's workers

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN special correspondent

WASHINGTON

THE BLISTERING ATTACK on Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson in the Dec. 31 CIO News must have re-awakened hope in the heart of many a rank-and-file union member wondering at this year's beginning how he is going to buy housing, food and clothes for the wife and kids on his frozen wages.

The News shows how Wilson, three months before President Truman named him mobilization boss, met with 13 other top industrialists in a closed New York discussion and mapped out a blueprint to "offset the growing power of labor." It shows how Wilson has used his tremendous powers—greater than those ever granted any other non-elected civilian in our history—to carry out this blueprint, notably through encouragement of wholesale construction of runaway plants.

The News shows that Wilson, through generous handouts of tax amortization certificates—they total about \$12,000,000,000 now—has arranged that these new plants be paid for by the average taxpayer instead of the industrialists. The paper says:

Some 15 months have elapsed since this plan "to offset the growing power of labor" was made "quickly available" to industrial leaders. Meanwhile the government's defense mobilization program under Wilson's leadership has encouraged the location of new plants in out of the way places, especially in the low-wage, non-union South.

TEN MONTHS AGO: Remember the



CHARLES E. WILSON
You still here?

grass-roots session of the United Labor Policy Committee in Washington's Statler Hotel last March? Then fighting demands were made for equality of representation in mobilization agencies, equality of sacrifice between profits and wages, equality of taxes, real price control and real rent control. The platform declared:

Any system that freezes wages and salaries before it controls the cost of living is a system of oppression, not stabilization.

Wilson was the villain then, as he is now in the CIO News. The ULPC program said:

From top to bottom the defense program has been staffed by men drawn from executive positions in big business. They cannot divorce themselves from their past experience and associations. Their policies in the government service clearly reflect their one-sided background.

Then, last April, with Wilson still in the saddle, all militancy was dropped. Mr. Truman reorganized the Wage Stabilization Board and set up a new advisory committee under Wilson. Labor went back into the mobilization machine.

ON AGAIN FINNEGAN: Can the rank-and-filer be wondered at if he asks what happened to Wilson's villainy? And if the rank-and-filer follows the news he will remember back to July 30, 1951. Congress had just passed the shamefully weakened amendments to the Defense Production Act. Labor was angry. But in a statement by the ULPC setting forth its anger this passage appeared:

We commend President Truman, Defense Mobilizer Wilson, Economic Stabilizer Johnston, Price Stabilization Chief DiSalle and the other public officials who worked earnestly to win from Congress a stronger anti-inflation law.

Surely Wilson can't change so fast from an enemy of labor to a friend of labor, then back again into an enemy of labor. The rank-and-filer is entitled to know what Wilson really is. And he's entitled to know why Mr. Truman, purported to be a friend of labor, picked Wilson in the first place and keeps him on.

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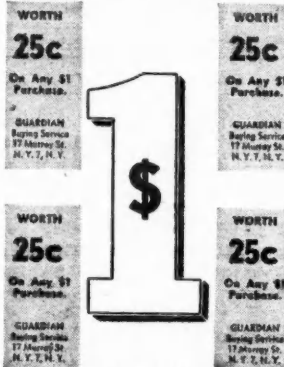
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For introductory purposes, every GUARDIAN subscriber received a complimentary Thrift Stamp in our Holiday mailing. If you have not already used this Stamp, we urge you to do so during our January sale. If you made a contribution in response to our Holiday letter and have not yet received Thrift Stamps in acknowledgement, mention this with your order and we will credit you with the full discount due you.

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BOOKS 'Oh, the road is rocky but it won't be rocky long'

By James Aronson

POEMS can be many things. They can be mincing bits of nothingness written entirely in small letters by small men to titillate the small souls of a literary cocktail set. They can be jungle gibberish written in six languages at once by persons who have not the patience to learn the beauty of one.

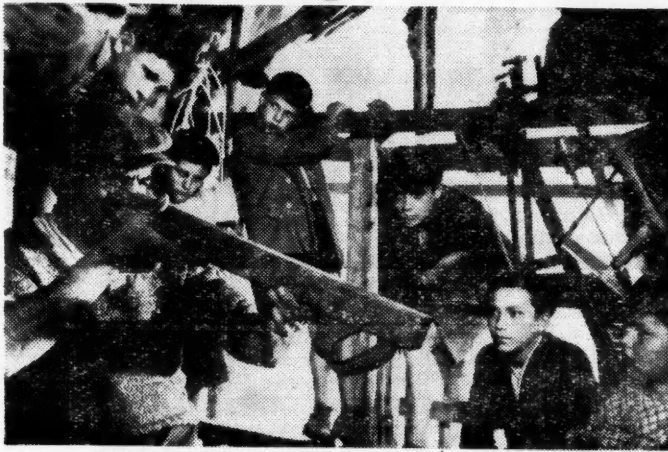
But they can also be songs of the people, written with the love and care that mark the artist who has loved and cared for people. We have had such poets in our time. Some, like Garcia Lorca, were murdered by fascists. Others, like Pablo Neruda, suffer exile while the rulers of their countries stifle the songs of their people.

Some have achieved greatness. Others have not pretended to greatness but have written, out of the fullness of their heart, poems that touch the people and stir them to protest and struggle for the abundant life which is their right. Such a poet is Don West, whose *Clods of Southern Earth* is read and re-read by thousands close to the soil of America and who says in his new volume of verse, *The Road Is Rocky*:

These songs of mine with the rough edges
of a southern sharecropper's hand
have also the tender feel
of the southern heart. . . .

OF PIPES AND PIPERS: The book opens with a similar note. The introduction was written by Roy Smith, plumber by trade, of Atlanta, Georgia. When he was asked to write it, he says, he thought it was a joke. Why, he had trouble keeping his fingernails clean and "most times I don't." Then he thought a bit about Don West, how he'd known him as a preacher ("I didn't like preachers none too good") teacher, deck hand, editor, farmer and just plain-out-of-a-job. And before he was through, Roy Smith got pretty mad at himself and said look here, mister, nobody has a better right than I to put down these things about Don West.

Smith tells you that if you're a working man you'll like these poems, but if you're looking for pretty little nothings with butterfly wings—shoo, fly, don't bother him.



HOMEWORK AT THE VILLAGE CARPENTER'S

From France there has come a warm, sensitive and moving film which won unanimous praise from the New York film critics. The movie, "Passion for Life," tells the story of a new school teacher who wins a reluctant village class to his side by making teaching and learning a living thing; then lets the class and a good part of the villagers win for him—and for progress—a battle against a parochial authority. It's a film for all ages. Right now it's playing at Manhattan's Cinema 48, 121 W. 48th St. Why not ask your movie house to get in touch with the producer and distributor, Brandon Films, 200 W. 57th St., New York, and show it in your town?

THEY WILL KNOW: That's about it. There will be sophisticates (in the real sense of the word) who will wince at the rough edges on Don West's verse. But there will be many more who will understand the rough edges and will be moved by the anger and the bitterness in West, buoyed by his faith and his love.

One time he is the balladeer mourning a lynch victim dumped on his mother's doorstep:

Oh, there's grieving in the plum-grove
And there's sobbing on the sand,
There is sorrow in the shanties—
And there's anger in the land!

Then he is the pensive lover thinking of his dead love:
What is love, and where is living?
Who is he that knows?
Has he stumbled through the dark places
and felt the hurt of those who cry in silence?

But everywhere he speaks with the southern heart and the southern longing. There is in his book the smell of turpentine pines and red clay earth, the sadness that is there and the joy that could be there. Above all there is a clear human voice calling his fellow men to brotherhood and life.

THE ROAD IS ROCKY, by Don West; designs by Bill Lytle, illustrations by Ida Scheib. 80 pp. At progressive bookstores, or by mail from Grace Kroger, 110 W. Cypress St., San Antonio, Tex. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$1; special organization price for 25 or more.

Free choice

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF. How can the young men learn that they are free? From school and college, Congress, pulpit, press, Comes not a hint from which a youth could guess That he has still a choice of what to be. All voices tell him he is but a cog in the inflexible machine which grinds Korean cities, people, bodies, minds, To ashes as a pulp-mill grinds a log. To be a killer is his destiny, All cry in chorus. And the lad, whose soul Revolts against all killing, does not know It is not true, that he can still say "NO!" Refuse to make a murderer's life his goal And, choosing prison, he can still be free.

Hugh Hardyman

labeled sentimental!). Paraphrasing the 137th Psalm, that unforgettable love-song to Jerusalem chanted once by the rivers of Babylon, Rolfe sings:

Madrid, if I ever forget you,
may my right hand lose its human cunning,
may my arms and legs wither in their sockets,
may my body be drained of its juices and my brain go soft and senseless as an imbecile's.
And if I die before I can return to you,
or you, in fullest freedom, are restored to us,
my sons will love you as their father did
Madrid Madrid Madrid.

Elegia does more than justify the price of the book—it restores a hope that was almost gone: perhaps the fire of the thirties did not completely die with young Funaroff after all. Perhaps we will hear from others of the brilliant Dynamo group. Their voices are more than ever needed in our confused and terrorized land.

FIRST LOVE and Other Poems, by Edwin Rolfe. Larry Edmunds Book Shop, Los Angeles. Limited autographed edition. 91 pp. \$2.75.

● Aaron Kramer is a distinguished American poet.

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New Rolfe book

By Aaron Kramer

THE APPEARANCE of a volume by Edwin Rolfe was exciting news to this reviewer. Fifteen years have passed since Dynamo published his previous book of poems, *To My Contemporaries*, with its ringing declaration:

Here's all of me, my friends,
brothers in arms and fellow builders!
We together through the long transition marching will notch the trees along the way.

The new collection opens with a group written mostly under fire in embattled Spain. Except for the lovely first stanza of *Elegy for Our Dead*, this group holds as little poetic interest as when it originally appeared in *Salud!* and *War Poems of the United Nations*.

On succeeding pages, the bare reportorial drive of the Spanish group is replaced by an almost impersonal attitude of speechmaking. The statements are praiseworthy, the prophecies brave—but seldom do they emerge as poems. Begun in the writer's brain, they may reach the careful reader's brain, but go no further. Only a few unusually fine pieces (*Night World*, *Prophecy in Stone*, *Song 3*, *Recruit*) stay with us.

THE LOVE OF MADRID: Then suddenly we come upon the heart of the book, a five-page work titled *Elegia*. It is Rolfe's masterpiece and one of the noblest American poems produced in a decade. Into this love-song to Madrid, written ten years after his return, Rolfe pours all the emotion he'd been holding back for so long (perhaps in fear of being

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